

Message Text

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45

ACTION SS-30

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P R 081707Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3200

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 1930

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1 DECLAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE DATE BY DCM

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, XF

SUBJECT: REPORT OF EC-NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS TO FOREIGN MINISTERS
ON MIDDLE EAST

DEPT PASS USINT CAIRO

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: RESPONSIBLE FOREIGN OFFICE SOURCE HAS GIVEN
US A THOROUGH RUNDOWN, IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, OF EC-NINE POLITICAL
DIRECTORS REPORT TO FOREIGN MINISTERS, BASED ON MEETING OF 10
AND 11 JANUARY , 6 AND 7 FEBRUARY AND MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS MEETINGS.
WE WOULD APPRECIATE PARTICULAR CARE THAT SOURCE BE FULLY PROTECTED.
INFORMATION WAS PROVIDED WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL OF SUPERIORS.
END SUMMARY.

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2. THE REPORT COVERS FOUR BROAD CATEGORIES: (A) POSSIBILITY OF
THE PARTICIPATION OF THE NINE IN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES OF A
PEACE SETTLEMENT; (B) CONTACTS OF THE NINE WITH ISRAEL; (C) THE
FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE ARAB

STATES; (D) THE NETHERLAND'S PROPOSAL FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THE NINE IN MEASURES AIMED AT THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILIZATION OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

POSSIBILITY OF THE PARTICIPATION OF THE NINE IN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT.

3. THE REPORT RECALLS THE PORTION OF THE EC NINE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE OF 15 DECEMBER REITERATING THE NINE'S READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. THE REPORT GOES ON TO NOTE THAT THE UK HAD PRESENTED A STUDY ON THE SUBJECT AT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING OF 10 AND 11 JANUARY. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE URGES THAT THE MIDDLE EAST EXPERT GROUP CONTINUE ITS WORK ON A STUDY OF EUROPEAN POSSIBILITIES IN THIS REGARD SO AS TO ENABLE THE NINE TO CONTRIBUTE, AT THE PROPER MOMENT, TO AN INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSION OF PEACE GUARANTEES.

CONTACTS OF THE NINE WITH ISRAEL.

4. THE REPORT RECALLS THAT ON DECEMBER 19 THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR IN COPENHAGEN HAD GIVEN THE DANES AN AIDE MEMOIRE EXPRESSING ISRAELI INTEREST IN A DIALOGUE WITH THE NINE. IN LIGHT OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S POSITION FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER 6 DECLARATION OF THE NINE ON THE MIDDLE EAST, THE NINE RESPONDED, ASKING THE ISRAELIS TO EXPLAIN CLEARLY WHAT THE GOAL OF SUCH A DIALOGUE WOULD BE AND THEIR IDEA OF THE ROLE THAT EUROPE COULD PLAY IN A PEACE SETTLEMENT AND IN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES. FOREIGN MINISTER EBAN HAD SUBSEQUENTLY CALLED IN THE AMBASSADORS OF THE NINE IN ISRAEL TO EXPLAIN THE ISRAELI POSITION, AND ON JANUARY 28 GAVE A REPLY IN THE FORM OF AN AIDE MEMOIRE TO THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY. THE REPORT STATES THAT THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE ISRAELI REPLY AND BELIEVE THAT AT THIS STAGE THE ONLY REQUIREMENT IS FOR THE NINE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ACCEPTANCE OF THE ISRAELI AIDE MEMOIRE. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE BELIEVES THAT CONTACT SHOULD BE REINSTITUTED WITH ISRAEL ON THE GUARANTEE PROBLEM "AS SOON AS THE NINE ARE IN POSSESSION OF THE NECESSARY ELEMENTS." THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE EXPRESSES ITS APPRECIATION OF THE ISRAELI
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INITIATIVE TO KEEP THE AMBASSADORS OF THE NINE INFORMED.

DIALOGUE WITH THE ARAB STATES.

5. THE REPORT RECALLS THE DEMARCHE OF THE FOUR ARAB MINISTERS AT COPENHAGEN ON 14 AND 15 DECEMBER IN WHICH THE ARABS STATED THEIR DESIRE TO HAVE A REAL COOPERATION WITH EUROPE IN ALL FIELDS ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND BENEFIT, AND THEIR DESIRE THAT THE PETROLEUM CRISIS NOT HAVE HARMFUL EFFECTS ON THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY. THE NINE HAD GIVEN THE ARAB MINISTERS A POSITIVE, IF PROVISIONAL, RESPONSE. THE REPORT GOES ON TO NOTE THE FRENCH PROPOSAL OF 10 AND 11 JANUARY FOR AN EC NIN/ARAB DIALOGUE, ACCORDING TO WHICH THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NINE WOULD INFORM THE

ARAB GOVERNMENTS OF THE NINE'S INTEREST IN PURSUING THE DIALOGUE, AND WOULD ASK THEM TO DESIGNATE INTERLOCUTERS TO CARRY ON DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENCY IN ORDER TO SKETCH OUT POSSIBLE FIELDS OF COOPERATION. THIS STAGE WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY MIXED COMMISSIONS TO EXAMINE DETAILS OF SUCH COOPERATION. FINALLY, A EUROPEAN/ARAB CONFERENCE AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL WOULD BE HELD, POSSIBLY IN AUTUMN OF 1974, TO TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS AND LAUNCH THE COOPERATION PROGRAM.

A. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS RECOMMEND THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL SHOULD BE RETAINED IN PRINCIPLE, TAKING ACCOUNT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FIELD OF THE COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF A "GLOBAL APPROACH". THE REPORT STATES THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES AS WELL AS AN EFFECTIVE PRESENCE OF THE NINE IN THE ARAB WORLD RESPONDS TO THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS OF EUROPE IN THE ARAB REGION. THE DIRECTORS STATE THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSALS COULD CONSTITUTE A FIRST SUGGESTION THAT THE NINE COULD MAKE TO THE ARAB SIDE AND THAT IT IS ONLY IN THE COURSE OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO KNOW WITH PRECISION WHAT FIELDS WOULD LEND THEMSELVES TO JOINT EUROPE/ARAB CONSULTATIONS, EITHER IN MIXED COMMISSIONS OR IN ANOTHER FORM.

B. THE DIRECTORS NOTE THAT AMONG THE POSSIBLE AREAS OF COOPERATION A GOOD NUMBER OF THEM ARE EITHER WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OR IN SOME WAY TOUCH ON COMMUNITY INTERESTS. THEY RECALL THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF A MEDITERRANEAN "GLOBAL APPROACH" THE COMMUNITY IS ALREADY ENGAGED IN GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS
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WITH VARIOUS ARAB COUNTRIES ON COOPERATION AND THAT THIS "GLOBAL APPROACH" IS ALSO OPEN TO OTHER ARAB STATES ALONG THE MEDITERRANEAN SUCH AS LIBYA, EGYPT, JORDAN, LEBANON, AND SYRIA.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED CAIRO.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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P R 081707Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3201

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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C. THE DIRECTORS STATE THAT AN ESSENTIAL GOAL OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE ARAB STATES MUST BE TO PRESENT A JOINT APPROACH, CLOSELY ASSOCIATING THE STATES INVOLVED IN POLITICAL COOPERATION AND THE COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO SET EUROPEAN/ARAB COOPERATION IN A GENERAL POLITICAL CONTEXT AND IN ORDER TO EFFICIENTLY TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE NINE. FURTHERMORE, THE DISCUSSIONS ON EUROPEAN/ARAB COOPERATION ARE IN THEMSELVES AN ADDITIONAL MOTIVE TO ACCELERATE THE COMMUNITY'S PRESENT ACTIVITIES, ESPECIALLY THOSE BEARING ON THE "GLOBAL APPROACH". COOPERATION WITH THE NINE OUGHT TO BE OPEN TO ALL ARAB STATES EVEN IF THEY DO NOT BORDER THE MEDITERRANEAN OF FALL INTO THE CATEGORY OF PETROLEUM PRODUCER COUNTRIES. THE DIRECTORS CALLED FOR CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN
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WORK DONE IN THE EUROPEAN POLITICAL CONTEXT AND THE WORK DONE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE COMMUNITY. THE DIRECTORS STATED THAT A POSITIVE DECISION BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ON EUROPEA/ARAB COOPERATION OUGHT TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A DECISION BY THE COUNCIL OF THE COMMUNITY, TO ENABLE THE PRESIDENCY TO BE FULLY COMPETENT TO ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARAB SIDE. THE PRESIDENCY WOULD CARRY ON THESE NEGOTIATIONS IN HIS DUAL ROLE AS PRESIDENT OF POLITICAL COOPERATION AND PRESIDENT OF THE COMMUNITY.

D. UNDER THIS RUBRIC THE DIRECTORS ALSO TOOK UP THE US INITIATIVE ON ENERGY AND STATED THAT WHILE US PROPOSALS RESPOND TO CONCERNS WHICH MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN THE EUROPE/ARAB DIALOGUE, THE NATURE OF THE TWO PROJECTS IS VERY DIFFERENT. THE REPORT STATES THAT THE PROPOSED COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES IS OF MUCH GREATER SCOPE THAN THE PROBLEM OF PETROLEUM. THE PROPOSED COOPERATION ENVISAGES RELATIONS WITH ALL ARAB STATES, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THEY ARE OIL PRODUCERS OR NOT, AND ITS POINT OF DEPARTURE SHOULD NOT SEEM TO BE LOCATED IN THE PETROLEUM FIELD. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE UNITED STATES BE KEPT INFORMED OF THE

DECISIONS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ON THIS SUBJECT.

E. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT OTHER MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES BE KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING PROPOSED EUROPEAN/ARAB COOPERATION, IN ORDER TO PREVENT MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

F. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS RECOMMEND TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS THAT THEY TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS ON THE EUROPEAN/ARAB DIALOGUE AT THEIR 14 FEBRUARY MEETING RATHER THAN WAIT FOR THE NEXT FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING IN MAY, DUE TO THE URGENCY OF GIVING THE ARABS A REPLY. THE DIRECTORS RECALLED THAT THE PRESIDENCY OF THE COMMUNITY INFORMED MINISTERS YAMANI AND ABDESALAM IN BONN THAT THE NINE WERE SEIZED WITH DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION AND THAT THEY HOPED TO BE ABLE TO PUT AN END TO THIS PREPARATORY STATE SHORTLY.

6. PARTICIPATION OF THE NINE IN MEASURES AIMED AT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STABILIZATION OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT.

THE REPORT NOTES THAT THE NETHERLANDS ON DECEMBER 19 HAD PROPOSED
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THAT THE NINE ENVISAGE CERTAIN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MEASURES AIMED AT BOLSTERING THE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE REPORT NOTES THAT THE MEMBER STATED OF THE COMMUNITY ON 13 AND 14 MAY 1971 HAD ALREADY DECLARED THEMSELVES PREPARED, "ACCORDING TO THEIR MEANS, TO CONTRIBUTE TO AN APPROPRIATE MOMENT TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STABILIZATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST". CONSENSUS OF THE DIRECTORS WAS THAT IT WILL STILL TOO EARLY TO EXAMINE SUCH MEASURES IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT HAD NOT YET BEEN ATTAINED AND IN VIEW OF THE IMPACT OF THE ENERGY CRISIS ON THE STATES FINANCIAL MEANS. THE DIRECTORS STATED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTERS REAFFIRMING THEIR 1971 DECLARATION AND ASKING THE COMMUNITY TO ADDRESS THE NETHERLANDS PROPOSALS AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME.

OPERATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

THE DIRECTORS SUGGEST THAT MINISTERS TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONCRETE MEASURES FOR EACH OF THE ABOVE CATEGORIES:

1. PARTICIPATION OF THE NINE IN GUARANTEES: THE MINISTERS SHOULD GIVE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE THE MANDATE TO PURSUE ONGOING STUDIES.

2. DIALOGUE WITH THE ARAB STATES: THE DIRECTORS RECOMMEND THAT THE STEPS PROPOSED IN THEIR REPORT BE TAKEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE PRESIDENCY SHOULD BE GIVEN A MANDATE TO UNDERTAKE THE DEMARCHE OUTLINED IN THE REPORT IMMEDIATELY WITH THE NINETEEN ARAB GOVERNMENTS. AN AIDE MEMOIRE, WHICH IS ATTACHED TO THE REPORT, SHOULD BE HANDED OVER. (THE AIDE MEMOIRE PROPOSES THAT THE FIRST OBJECTIVE OF THE EUROPEAN/ARAB GOVERNMENTS SHOULD

BE AN INITIAL CONTACT WHICH WOULD GIVE BOTH SIDES THE OPPORTUNITY
TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS ON POSSIBLE AREAS OF COOPERATION. THE NINE PROPOSE
AN EARLY MEETING BETWEEN THE FRG FOREIGN
MINISTER AND DESIGNATED ARAB REPRESENTATIVES, WITH THE FRG
MINISTER IN HIS DOUBLE ROLE AS PRESIDENT OF POLITICAL COOPERATION
OF THE NINE AND PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES.
THE AIDE MEMOIRE GOES ON TO SAY THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THE
RESULTS OF THIS MEETING, THE NINE WOULD BE READY TO STUDY THE
DETAILS OF EUROPE/ARAB COOPERATION AT THE EXPERT LEVEL, FOR
EXAMPLE, THROUGH MIXED COMMISSIONS. FINALLY, WHEN THESE
PREPARATIONS ARE ADVANCED ENOUGH, BUT IF POSSIBLE IN THIS YEAR,
A EUROPE/ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING WOULD BE ORGANIZED TO
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TAKE THE NECESSARY DECISIONS.) THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR WOULD
MAKE THE DEMARCHE IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE FRG WAS NOT REPRESENTED.
IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT "THE NINE" REFERRED TO IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE
REFERS ALSO TO THE STATES WHICH ARE MEMBER

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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